

OCT 19 1960

RECEIVED

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

SOCIAL ACTION CALENDAR

October 23—World Order Sunday.
October 25-27 — United Nations — World Order Seminar, New York.
November 4—World Community Day
November 8—Election Day
November 9-11 — Consultation on the Church and Community Development, Congregational Conference Grounds, Lisle, New York.
January 27-29, 1961—Council for Christian Social Action. The Inn, Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania.
January 31-February 2—Seminar on the Christian Farmer and His Government. (Write to Rev. Serge F. Hummon, 19 S. LaSalle St., Chicago 3, Ill.)
February—Month of Emphasis on Christian Social Action.
February 7-10—Churchmen's Washington Seminar, Washington, D. C. (Congregational Christians should write to Dr. Ray Gibbons, CCSA, 289 Park Ave., South, New York 10, N. Y., Evangelical and Reformed to Dr. Huber Klemme, 2969 W. 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio.)

DIRECTOR ILL ON TOUR

Dr. Ray Gibbons, Director of the Council for Christian Social Action and director of the CCSA 1960 Around-the-World Study Tour, was taken ill with hepatitis during the course of the tour and was hospitalized in Vienna, Austria. Latest information is that he was responding to treatment and has been released from the hospital.

Mrs. Gibbons and other members of the party took over the direction of the seminar during its last days in Austria and Germany. The group had left San Francisco on June 23 and had visited Japan, Taiwan, Hongkong, India, Jordan, Israel, Greece, and Yugoslavia. Highly interesting interviews and experiences were reported by those who took part.

Dr. and Mrs. Gibbons are planning to spend several months in Austria and Germany as part of the sabbatical leave which Council staff members are encouraged to take.

Council Plans Its Program

In a session marked more by careful consideration of its educational function and the strengthening of its working structure than by the making of sensational news, the Council for Christian Social Action held its semi-annual meeting at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, September 7 to 9. Convening on the same campus as the chairmen of social action committees in the state conferences and synods, and for most of the time along with them, the Council reviewed the work of its committees and staff, and gave attention to its relationships to the field.

This does not mean that the meeting ignored the urgent problems of the day. On the contrary, in order to remind the members of our churches as well as per-

sons in public life of the central issue involved, the staff was instructed to distribute copies of the Council's January, 1960 Statement on "Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States."

Wednesday evening was given over to a panel on "Emerging Issues in Labor-Management Relations" with addresses and comments by John R. Jones, former Vice-President, United Papermakers and Paperworkers AFL-CIO, New York; Robert A. Graney, Industrial Relations, Inland Steel Company, Chicago, Illinois; Wendell Burton, Employment Supervision, Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company; and Erwin Peterson, well-known local labor attorney.

On Friday evening, a public meeting, (Continued on Page 4, Col. 1)

State and Synod Leaders Face Their Task

For four days, September 6 to 9, the campus of Macalester College, in Saint Paul, Minnesota, played host to two groups of people. One was the squad of football players, both the tested and the hopeful, getting primed and toughened for another season of competition. The other was a group of over fifty men and women representing the United Church of Christ's synodical and state conference committees on Christian social action taking a look at their jobs and readying themselves for the serious work ahead. In spite of the time of year—falling as it did between vacations and the launching of local church fall programs—17 synods and 17 state conferences from Vermont to Southern California and from the Pacific Northwest to Puerto Rico were represented.

The meeting began with an address by

Professor Hugo W. Thompson, head of the Department of Philosophy at Macalester College and chairman of the Council for Christian Social Action. Appropriately, he dealt with "Christian Social Action in the United Church of Christ" but traced the historic roots of our present-day social witness in the prophetic and New Testament sources of the church.

Next, Dr. Huber Klemme, acting director of CCSA during Director Ray Gibbons' sabbatical leave, outlined the purpose and function of the conference and synod committee—in relation to its parent body, to the constituent churches, and to the denominational Council. He stated that the importance of a social action committee lay in the message, nature, and purpose of the Church as a

(Continued on Page 4, Col. 2)

Religion and the Presidency

By HUBER F. KLEMME

The following article, written by the Associate Director of the Council for Christian Social Action and upon his own responsibility, does not represent an official policy statement of the Council. In the absence of a study packet, it is presented to supplement the Council's statement on *Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States* and to suggest further resources for church members and groups in exploring the question.

For the second time in recent history one of the major political parties has nominated for the Presidency of the United States a member of the Roman Catholic Church. This has occasioned a great deal of discussion as to whether membership in that church constitutes a reason for denying such a candidate support for this high office.

Let us make due allowance for the fact that some of those who raise this issue do so as a result of deep and unalterable prejudice, and that some use it as a convenient argument to bolster support for his opponent. There remain some questions in the minds of those outside the Roman Catholic Church who seek to be sincere and fair in their appraisal of candidates and issues. In some countries where Roman Catholics are in the majority, the liberties of others have been restricted—often on the theological ground that "error has no rights" and that the state owes special protection to what they believe to be the only "true church." Some Roman Catholics in public life in this country have shown a narrow approach, or worse, to problems of public policy which *may* have been related to their understanding (or lack of understanding) of their faith. Among Roman Catholics, too, there seems to be a cohesiveness about matters of faith and practice which worries the "outsider." And on certain issues many Roman Catholics—and particularly certain influential ecclesiastics—appear to take fixed positions where non-Roman Catholics have an opposing or at least a more fluid point of view. It is, therefore, neither unexpected nor improper that citizens should ask questions about a candidate's own position on these matters—just as they might ask *any* candidate where he stands on issues related to his economic, political, social and religious background.

It would be neither possible nor desirable that a President of the United

States should be entirely *uninfluenced* by his religious background. The important issue for the serious questioner is *how* and *in what*. Since neither his friends nor his opponents are endowed with the gift of clairvoyance, the only fair and available basis for answering these questions is in the candidate's own statements and record. Thus, whatever else his opponents have said about Vice-President Nixon, none has suggested that his membership in the Society of Friends disqualifies him to serve as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, even though pacifism is as much a Quaker doctrine as the spiritual primacy of the Pope is a conviction of Roman Catholics. Mr. Nixon's own statements and record weigh more heavily than the prevailing views of his church. So, too, Senator Kennedy has made it clear where he stands on the issues and where he understands the line to be drawn between the spiritual function of the clergy and the personal responsibility of the person entrusted with public office. One can hardly expect either candidate to do more.

Where Do the Problems Lie?

Ordinarily, this would settle the matter and the average citizen would go on to examine the differences in character, ability, philosophy, party platform, and party record and thus make up his mind. In many instances, however, he comes back with further objections: There is a great difference between the structure of the Roman Catholic Church and that of the Protestant churches. There are a great many more Roman Catholics than Quakers, after all. What of the possible pressure of the hierarchy upon a Roman Catholic President, in spite of his candid statement that he would resist such pressure or resign his office? Perhaps it is time for us to take a look at the issues on which there might possibly be a Roman Catholic "line." What are they?

1. There is the question of diplomatic representation of the United States at the Vatican. Such representation has been had by other non-Roman states and by our own country at other times. A modified form, of such representation was arranged for during World War II by an Episcopal President and was proposed by his Baptist successor. Senator Kennedy has stated his personal opposition to such representation and on quite other grounds it is today a "dead issue."

2. Many Roman Catholic clerics, educators, and politicians have advocated some form of state aid for parochial and other private schools. When Senator Morse, a Congregational Christian layman, introduced an amendment to the School Assistance Act to provide \$75 million annually for two years for low-interest loans to private and parochial schools for construction purposes, Senator Kennedy publicly opposed this amendment. Though many respected Protestant senators supported it, the amendment was defeated.

3. The rigid position of Roman Catholic theologians and clergymen regarding contraception and the unrealistic reliance on economic progress keeping pace with an explosive rate of population growth has created a concern lest the President be influenced by this position in the event that our foreign aid appropriations included technical assistance for population control. Unfortunately, neither Senator Kennedy nor Republican officials have been prepared to advocate government participation in such programs. It has been suggested that a Roman Catholic President could meet the situation without violating his conscience by allowing such a bill to become law without his signature. The "pressures," however, are already on any President; and the decision will in any event have to be made by the Congress.

4. Perhaps more serious than most of the objections which have been aired is the question whether in our foreign policy a Roman Catholic President would be likely to manifest the sterile anti-Communism which is the stock-in-trade of certain vocal members of his church. Many conservative Protestants and economic reactionaries of both political parties are, of course, to be found in the same camp, meeting a complex problem with the same simple slogans. This is not a question of "appeasement" or a naive appraisal of the seriousness of the Communist threat. The problem is the failure to appreciate the many-sidedness of the danger and the need of intelligent advance on many fronts at once. In any case, the significant thing is that Candidate Kennedy (like Democratic and Republican leaders before him) has turned to Harvard and MIT rather than Notre Dame or Catholic University for his chief technical guidance on policy. The prominence of Chester Bowles and Adlai Stevenson among his advisors as well as the candidate's own speeches give assurance that an imaginative and creative approach to problems of foreign policy is being sought by the Democrats—even as Ambassador Lodge's presence on the ticket symbolizes the Republican party's

new of the importance of international affairs. 55. There is further a suspicion whether some privileged position may be sought for the Church which the President belongs. This would be a serious breach of the separation of church and state. From the standpoints of temperament, conviction, and expediency alike such a step is unlikely, just as it is constitutionally unthinkable apart from action by the Congress and the courts. One may even suspect that the first Roman Catholic President would be especially careful in avoiding any religious imbalance in his appointments.

There remain a host of causes supported by Roman Catholic moral and political theory which Protestants and many other citizens have their own reasons for supporting. Many legislative steps having to do with the welfare of children and youth, the health care of the aged, the raising of minimum wages, the support of the United Nations, the stepping up of international economic assistance programs, and the liberalization of immigration policies have been supported by agencies representing various faith groups as well as many organizations without specific religious orientation. Often representatives of the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America have presented testimony which indicated that they were moved in the same general direction by their respective traditions. While these bodies rarely commend unanimous support from their adherents, the positions usually taken by them remind us that the constructive influence of religion in politics should not be lost!

We Have Work To Do

The vacuum in which so much discussion has been taking place indicates that Protestants have a great deal of work to do, searching their own souls and appraising the situation. The Right Reverend James A. Pike, Episcopal Bishop of California, in collaboration with the Reverend Richard Byfield, in a useful book, *A Roman Catholic in the White House* (Doubleday, \$2.50), takes up many of the questions on which this article can only touch. Bishop Pike has the double advantage of having lived and worked inside both the Roman and Protestant communions and, further, of having had both legal and theological training.

Careful attention should be paid to such statements as that adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action in January, 1960 on "Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States." This statement was published in the supplement to *CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY* for March, 1960 and may be secured separately (5 cents for single copies, \$2 per 100) from either office of the Council. It says unequivocally that "no citizen should be denied nomination by a political party or election to the office of President on grounds of race, religion or ethnic origin . . . The crucial question is not what influences are brought to bear upon him, but what response the President makes to such influences."

The September 3 issue of *Information Service*, published by the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches, gives a digest of a number of extremely relevant articles and statements.

Many Protestants unfortunately do not understand to what extent there has been developing a position among Roman Catholics, in Europe as well as in this country, which accepts the principle of religious freedom and the policy of church-state separation as valid and no less consistent with Roman Catholic dogma than the older tradition which claims a preferred status as a right. A fair and objective study with detailed documentation has been made by Dr. A. F. Carrillo de Albornoz for the World Council of Churches under the title, *Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty* (available from the World Council at 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York or from CCSA for \$1).

In connection with the workshop on "A Roman Catholic in Public Office," conducted by the North Dakota Conference, as reported in *CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY* last month, the Conference Committee developed a mimeographed guide for community workshops on the subject. Single copies may be secured on request from the chairman of the committee, the Reverend Harold W. Case, 121 Sioux Ave., Bismarck, North Dakota.

Further examination of church-state and inter-church relations may well be undertaken through the use of *A Case Book on Christian Responsibility for Freedom* (50 cents) prepared for the interdenominational Coordinated Emphasis

on Freedom and through the use of the Study Packet on *Christian Responsibility for Freedom* (CCSA, \$1). The September, 1960 issue of *SOCIAL ACTION* magazine (25 cents, 10 to 99 copies, 20 cents each, 100 or more at 15 cents) also contains an article by William Lee Miller, on "The Role of the Church in Public Affairs." Excellent discussions of the role of the church in political life are *Politics for Christians*, by William Muehl (Association Press, \$3) and *The Protestant and Politics*, by William Lee Miller (Westminster, \$1).

Quite apart from the acrimony and tension which accompany much discussion of the church affiliation of the candidates, one of the most regrettable aspects of this discussion is that it deflects or postpones attention to the really important issues—the issues in which the respective candidates and parties may really make a difference in the shape of the future. In these areas—civil rights, health and welfare, public education, international aid and trade, disarmament, industrial relations, economic growth there are few essential divergences as between Protestant and Roman Catholic but sometimes important differences of emphasis as between one party and the other. We had better pay more attention to these—using such tools as *1960 Election Issues* (10 cents), *The Christian Citizen Looks at the 86th Congress* (Voting Record—10c), the party platforms, the speeches of the candidates, and every responsible evaluation that is available. It is in awareness of the basic issues and in fidelity to that which is the best public policy for all the many diverse kinds of people who make up our country and our world that each of us, whether Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Jew, or unbeliever, best serves God.

FURTHER HELP

The September number of the *Washington Newsletter* of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, (245 Second Street N. E., Washington, D. C.) compares the Nixon and Kennedy positions on major issues. Copies of the September issue may be ordered.

An American Dialogue by Robert McAfee Brown and Gustave Weigel, S. J., (Doubleday, \$2.95) urges and demonstrates serious, friendly, frank discussion between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Copies of the respective party platforms may be secured from Democratic National Committee, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., and Republican National Committee, 1625 Eye Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

COUNCIL PLANS ITS PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 3)

featuring Mrs. Malcolm A. McCannel, chairman, and James A. Tillman, executive secretary of the Greater Minneapolis Inter-Faith Fair Housing Program, was attended by a number of clergymen and lay people of the Twin Cities. Their report revealed that through the efforts of the Program, financed by a grant from the CCSA supplemented by gifts from local foundations and individuals, a beginning was being made in establishing the principle of open housing, and something was being learned which may be of help to other communities in the future. Reports were received of developments in race relations in other parts of the country, particularly as they affected our churches.

Discusses Social Welfare Role

The major events of the meeting, however, had to do with program decisions. These included:

Approval of a working paper, interpreting the role of the Council in social welfare—as a framework for cooperation with the Council for Health and Welfare Services provided for in the proposed Constitution of the United Church.

Plans to conduct four Christian Social Action Institutes during the summer of 1961, in New England, the South, the Middle West, and on the West Coast, and to restudy the question of location before 1962.

Sponsorship of the Interdenominational Churchmen's Washington Seminar, February 7—10, 1961, and if possible a United Church Washington Seminar in April.

Instructions to the staff to submit plans

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

OCTOBER, 1960

News and Program Service of the
Council for Christian Social Action
of the United Church of Christ
Ray Gibbons, Director

Huber F. Klemme, Associate Director and Editor

Sent free to pastors and social action committee chairmen. Group subscriptions, 10 or more to one address, 50 cents each. Individual subscriptions, \$2 per year with SOCIAL ACTION upon request.

General communications and orders from Evangelical and Reformed churches should be addressed to the Editor, Council for Christian Social Action, 2969 W. 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio.

Congregational Christians should order from Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.

The Council for Christian Social Action unites the work of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

for more intensive preparation of pastors, both present and potential, for more effective leadership in Christian social action.

Honor Departing Editor

At luncheon on Thursday, September 8 the Council set aside other business long enough to express its appreciation and good wishes to Fern Babcock (Mrs. Alexander J.) Grant who since 1955 has served as Editor of SOCIAL ACTION and Publications Secretary and leaves the Council on October 1, preparatory to join her husband in Manila.

Appropriate statements were made by the Reverend Walter S. Press, of Carmichael, California, as Chairman of the Editorial Board; by Dr. Huber F.

Klemme, Acting Director of CCSA on behalf of the staff; by Mrs. F. P. Brasseur, Cleveland, recording secretary of the Council, representing the "consuming public" and especially the women's organizations with which Mrs. Grant had worked so closely; and by Professor Hugo W. Thompson, of St. Paul, a chairman on behalf of the Council. Dr. Park J. White of St. Louis, though not present in person, contributed a poem as one of her many friends and colleagues. A citation expressive of the Council's feelings was presented to her by Dr. Thompson.

The next meeting of the Council will be held at The Inn, Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania, January 27-29, 1961.

State and Synod Leaders Face Their Task

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 3)

body witnessing to the Lordship of Christ over all of life. "If the Church is really present in the conference or the synod, it must come to grips with community forces; with currents of opinion; with the institutions and orders of society; with the challenge of poverty, injustice, racial strife, international tension, and social irresponsibility; with the compulsion to build a 'responsible society' in which the righteousness of God becomes manifest in the fabric of the world's life."

The Council's Secretary for Field Service, the Reverend F. Nelsen Schlegel, then presented a report of a survey on the ways in which committees across the Church are carrying out their functions. Committees reported a great variety of activities, programs, and ways of working. Their evaluations were sober but hopeful, finding some improvement in the acceptance of Christian social action but a great need for more positive and sustained action in local churches.

The survey report was followed and supplemented by personal reports of committee representatives present. The programs of the Southern California Conference and of the Pittsburgh Synod were discussed in greater detail by the Reverend Julian Keiser, conference staff member for social action, and the Reverend Gabriel Fackre, synodical chairman. The participants then gathered in regional groups to identify and rate the problems which gave them the greatest concern. A later session turned to a con-

sideration of these problems, with a view to what committees expect of the CCSA and what the CCSA may expect of committees. This discussion was led by Mrs. Alexander Grant, with the aid of staff members Rudolph Raber, F. Nelsen Schlegel, and Galen R. Weaver, plus Chairman Robert Liddell of Philadelphia Synod and Colorado Conference staff worker Clark Garman.

Questions given high priority included: activating and sustaining programs of Christian social action in local congregations; bringing resolutions before conferences and synods and then working toward their implementation; coordinating the programs of Christian social action in synods and conferences; ways of developing budgets and of providing resource material for social action leaders; and evaluating institutes and seminars.

Chairmen present "sat in" on three business sessions of the Council for Christian Social Action as well as a panel discussion on industrial relations and a public meeting featuring the Greater Minneapolis Inter-Faith Fair Housing Program. Thus they could see at first hand something of the Council's processes of program and policy formation, and the Council could learn something of the needs and reactions of those responsible for guiding state and synod programs. It is hoped that this meeting may contribute to more effective Christian social action in the United Church of Christ.